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ABSTRACT

The document contains two essays on art and aesthetic education. The first examines the ideology of art education from the standpoint of phenomenological sociology. Using this approach, the researcher can adopt an ethnographic, historical, and/or cross-cultural approach to analyze how a phenomenon (for example, an ideology of art education) appears. These approaches reveal that beliefs about art education have been the same for at least 80 years. The overall aim appears to be to shape citizens who are achievement oriented, produce and consume excellence, and contribute to the progress of civilization. These views neglect the fact that art is a mode of giving meaning to one's experience. Also, both student teachers and children are dependent upon the art educator's power to define the structure of the art experience. The implications for art education research are numerous. The second paper reports results of a study of the aesthetic socialization of children during art museum tours. The researcher recorded verbal interchanges between museum personnel who are guides and children in an art museum for a three-month period. Results illustrate that museum guides indicated that art works of high value most often belong to the wealthy and privileged; one is to have feelings about artworks; artworks are to be looked at and enjoyed; and there are many social conceptions about art. Implications are that teachers and children are vulnerable to the guides' interpretations about art and aesthetic knowledge. (KC)

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Art Education in One Dimension: Reaching into the Future from the Perspective of Ideology (1977)

An Inquiry into the Process of Aesthetic Socialization During School Tours at an Art Museum. (1978)

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Occasional Paper No. 4

Department of Secondary Education
Faculty of Education The University of Alberta

CURRICULUM, MEDIA & INSTRUCTION

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This paper is part of the Department of Secondary Education's CMI Publication Series. It is an occasional paper, and as such we invite you to focus on a dimension of the field of CURRICULUM, MEDIA AND INSTRUCTION. It is also an informal paper and as such it is meant to allow the author to bring to the reader thoughts at some moment of development, from an early exploratory moment to a later more refined moment.

The series hopefully will consist of papers "occasionally" printed as relevant papers come our way. We see them as conversation pieces - "thought-works" that might engage readers and, possibly on occasions author and reader, to come together in a face-to-face "talk-talk".

Thus, we recognize the papers as being essentially incomplete, rooted in the idea that collaborations cannot be exhausted by an actual paper nor any actual reader. We ask you, our reader to collaborate by using the papers to grasp the reason for the essential incompleteness, that is, we ask you to grasp the conception of analysis which makes the papers possible. We ask you this because we feel that these papers themselves, although they have to be used to make the point, are never the point.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

A. Art Education in One Dimension: Reaching into the Future from the Perspective of Ideology. (I977) P. I

B. An Inquiry into the Process of Aesthetic Socialization During School Tours at an Art Museum. (I978) P. I7

Art Education In One Demonstration: Reaching Into The Future From The Perspective of Ideology

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The purpose of this paper is to show that the sociology of knowledge and the methods of phenomenological sociology have relevance to the study of art education. First, these positions will be briefly mapped out and, next, the professional ideology of art educators will be used to exemplify how art education might be studied from these perspectives. Finally, the implications for art education research in this manner will be indicated. In this paper, the stress will be on the central ideas of the sociology of knowledge and the methods of phenomenological sociology rather than on the results of a study in art education conducted from this approach to sociology.

The Sociology of Knowledge

From the sociological perspective I am presenting here, art education can be viewed as social knowledge constituted through the interactions of many individuals. This perspective is based upon the theory of the sociology of knowledge derived from the phenomenology of Edmund Husserl, the phenomenological sociology developed by Alfred Schutz, and the synthesis of these ideas with symbolic interactionism by Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann.

The world of everyday life is the setting wherein human beings carry on multifarious activities in interaction with others. This world is a social world. According to Berger and Luckmann, society can be described "as an ongoing dialectical process composed of the three moments of externalization, objectivation, and internalization" (1966:129). The sociology of knowledge draws upon Husserl's notion of intentionality to ground the actions of human beings in purposeful meanings, that is, all persons possess interpretive frameworks from which plans of action or projects are proposed and accomplished in the world of everyday life. Within the consciousness of the individual, experience becomes arranged into ideas, thoughts and images, and then organized for intended action; experience becomes typed. Externalization is the outpouring of these purposes into the world whereby they become meaningful both to others and oneself. An artist may tell an associate about the magnificent painting s/he has in mind to do, while a child might explain to friends how s/he will spend allowance money or a heroin dealer could be

discussing new distribution plans with his/her contacts.

Externalization leads to objectivation which is the objective result of a plan of action. A potter must have pots which represent his/her action upon the clay. Kilns or wheels are also visible as objects that reflect the projects and intentions of others who invented them. Furthermore, the idea of a clay vessel realizes other plans such as storing food or displaying one's flower arranging skills. The products and ideas of some intentional agents can also be organized by others into other types of objectively available knowledge. The art historian who studies the works of several artists associated with one another gives them names like Pre-Raphaelites or Impressionists to indicate the style of these works. The "Founding Fathers" who themselves are objectivated by this term, draw up a legal document representing ideas about governance based upon the objectivated ideas and experiences of others with different forms of government. These other forms were also created by human beings. The objectivation of proposed actions by many persons over a period of time results in a vast array of meanings and recipe knowledge which are objectively available as a social stock of knowledge. Some of this knowledge also becomes stabilized and sedimented as tradition and objective fact.

It should be apparent at this point that the sociology of knowledge is concerned with the meanings that human beings fashion for themselves in order to make sense out of experience and that they communicate to each other. Human beings are thus makers of symbols and creators of culture. The anthropologist can attest to the inventive capabilities of humans in the many interesting social worlds encountered in fieldwork. Institutions, roles, identities, laws, customs, rituals and practices are the products of human inventiveness which give stability to human experience. It is in this way that the human world differs from the animal world. Whereas animals get a sense of order from their instincts, human beings create their sense of order. Moreover, human beings devise various patterns of explanations or legitimations for maintaining the order they have created. A Victorian architect can make a bank look like a Greek temple knowing that he is following the natural laws of ideal beauty and proportion "discovered" by the Greeks, or a twentieth century woman can still explain her household servitude as a necessary part of God's plan. When the social stock of

knowledge appears to individuals as objective knowledge detached from its human origins, the dialectical processes of society become distorted and knowledge becomes reified, that is, a thing which one is seemingly powerless to change.

Internalization involves the process of taking the social objectivations used by others into one's own subjectivity. As a child, one is presented with a version of the world that one's parents find useful in their mastery of life. The Park Avenue child who is sent to Saturday art classes at the Metropolitan Museum will experience a quite different version of the social world than the ghetto child whose homelife sends him/her into the streets where s/he marks decrepit buildings with graffiti. Schools and jobs provide one with other versions of how one is to conduct oneself through life that likewise maintain portions of the socially objectivated stock of knowledge. Internalization is greatly aided by another human invention, language. While much can be learned by watching others engaged in their projects, without words the symbolic aspects of culture are not readily apparent to all participants in the social world. One cannot explain to a young child why eating peas is good and hitting the baby is bad nor can one understand the mysteries of art criticism and aesthetic theories without the explanatory power of words. Engaged in conversation with others, individuals can be socialized to the typical meanings and experiences realized by language. Socialization is a life-long process beginning with parents speaking to babies who will someday make sense out of the sounds they hear and, perhaps, ending with "significant" utterances about death mumbled to those present at one's last moments.

The importance of socialization is that as the individual internalizes the typical knowledge shared by others, his/her identity becomes established in terms of socially available knowledge. One is not an artist unless one exhibits most of the typical characteristics which socially identify the artist. In the role of artist, which is mediated by one's own subjective interpretation of how it should be performed, one <u>is</u> an artist. The self is not only apprehended by others as an artist but the role is subjectively real to oneself and an integral part of one's identity. One also realizes the role of artist for others who may find one to be an admirable model for their identity or someone to be avoided because the meanings associated

with artist are not relevant to their projects. The socialization process builds up or constitutes the social world in the consciousness of the individual and his/her flow of personal experience is shaped into a structure more congruent with the socially available typifications of experience.

At this point, society can be observed to have an objective dimension that is realized as a social stock of knowledge consisting of many kinds of recipes known to be useful for directing our practical interests and a subjective dimension whereby relevant portions of the social stock of knowledge are interpreted and realized by the self. Consequently, the relationship between objective reality and subjective reality is dialectical, that is, each works back upon the other and is changed in the course of interaction. The social world is created by human beings who are in turn created by the social world. What is more, the reality of the social world, the presence of others in it and their ability to make sense out of it is taken-for-granted by all participants engaged in planning and acting in the everyday world. (Note: the film, King of Hearts, is an excellent example pointing to the taken-for-grantedness of social reality.)

If, as these theorizers suggest, the social world is constructed through human activity, then art education also reflects the handiwork of human crafters. As a part of the social stock of knowledge, art education is a potential area of inquiry from a sociology of knowledge perspective.

Phenomenological Sociology and a Methodology

In comparison to other ways of doing research, phenomenological sociology is directed towards revealing the structure of a phenomenon. Its aim is to show how the social world is built up or constructed through the actions of human beings and to examine the taken-for-grantedness of social phenomena. In anthropology, this is often referred to as making the familiar strange. The use of phenomenological method in sociology is in its infancy and as an approach to research may appear strange itself. Especially so, if one compares it with positivist research methods. In the positivist view, the purposes of research are directed towards the production of "an objective body of knowledge, that is, a body of knowledge independent of the properties of any particular knowing mind" (Johnson 1975:17). This objective body of knowledge is most often the result of hypothetical-statistical methods. In recent times,

the method of science has come to be equated with these methods and many educators believe that if one does not use them, one is un-scientific. Furthermore, in the positivist position, any attention to the symbolic aspects of human life are considered to be untestable and therefore not accorded the status of knowledge. Phenomenology restores these phenomena to a rightful place as knowledge.

Researchers who are looking for a methodology with precise steps will find this approach disconcerting; in fact, one might even say that the guidelines for such inquiry are vague. Roger Jehensen states that "(t)he phenomenological approach to social reality emphasizes the primary role subjective meaning plays in the interpretation of social action...(It is) an exploration of the social from the standpoint of the subject..." (1973: 241). With this orientation towards subjective interpretation, the researcher would describe the interpretations of reality used by members of the social world, suspend their taken-for-grantedness and indicate what meanings are constituted therein. Revealed as phenomena which was hidden, these reflected meanings would be examined critically and acted upon. The purpose of description in phenomenological sociology is expository. Insofar as it is possible to do so, the phenomenon under consideration by the researcher should be directly available to the experience of others. What the researcher apprehends from his/her own interpretive framework should be in evidence. If science can be defined as the use of systematic methods to acquire knowledge inorder to decide a course of action, then phenomenological method would seem to be scientific, but not objective in terms of positivism.

The following approaches are proposed as ways to implement the guidelines. These approaches are useful for obtaining a view of some phenomenon as it appears in different contexts. Once the phenomenon to be examined has been chosen, the researcher can adopt an ethnographic, historical, and/or a cross-cultural approach for finding out how the phenomenon appears. The ethnographic approach would find the researcher immersed in a group of informants who would describe the phenomenon as it appears in their experience. The researcher's task would be to record these viewpoints and map out their constitutive relationship. The report the researcher made would be his/her own on-the-spot account. To illustrate, if one wished to know what parts of the social stock of knowledge are being transmitted to children, one

might interview them and their teacher and record the interaction between them in the classroom. This phenomena would then be analyzed for various linkages inorder to reveal what is transmitted and how this is done. Once the meanings are mapped out, the researcher can critically examine what has been hidden in the phenomena which was not apparent in its taken-for-granted state. The historical approach to a phenomenon would involve tracing its appearance over a period of time and mapping out its intellectual itinerary through the objectivations of many persons. Again, these meanings would be examined for their interconnections and subjected to reflexive analysis. A cross-cultural approach would involve searching for the phenomenon in different societies and recording how it appears in a selected number of them. Here, the researcher would depend upon the accounts that other persons have made of the phenomenon. Once the constituted relationships had been laid out, the revealed phenomena would be, as before, reviewed in a critical attitude.

Phenomenological sociology, then, is a method that is descriptive in regard to some phenomenon, reflective of its structure and reflexive in relation to what ultimately appears to the researcher. It provides an avenue for the clarification of social reality made through a critique of what appears in the consciousnesses of the members of society and the researcher. While the methods for doing phenomenological inquiry in sociology may appear "sketchy" in comparison to positivist practices in research, they are open-ended. As sociologist George Psathas observed, "(t)here is no formula or recipe for procedures which is to be applied ready-made to the problem being studied" (1973:16). Thus, the researcher must be responsible for designing his/her own methods within the general framework of phenomenological thought and the characteristics of the phenomena to be examined. As more studies are done from a phenomenological perspective, the approaches suggested here and others yet to emerge, will need to be critically reflected upon themselves inorder to avoid becoming "new" recipe knowledge sedimented in the social stock of knowledge. The methods for inquiring into the processes of society need to reflect the dialectic of individual and society rather than reified research procedures.

The Exemplar of Ideology

From the interaction of the many individuals involved in maintaining the province of meanings called art education, a pattern of shared ideas or beliefs has appeared. This professional ideology symbolizes reality for art educators and serves to legitimate their practices and activities. As professional interpretations of a portion of the social world, these ideas have had an intellectual career in the traditions of the profession and are communicated to new members during their socialization. Over a period of time, the ideology of art education has acquired a taken-for-granted status that is seldom questioned. Beyond the efforts of Eisner (1973-74) and Lanier (1972), few persons have seen any need to examine the assumptions upon which the ideology of art education is based. As cutbacks in the school budget result in the elimination of art from the school curriculum, the time may have arrived for a reassessment of these ideas. According to Eisner "(i)t is through tough minded analysis of existing beliefs, including one's own that we are able to increase our clarity concerning what we are up to professionally" (1973-74:7).

The professional ideology of art education can be found in public statements made by art educators. In the text, Children and Their Art, Gaitskell and Hurwitz (1975) have summarized these beliefs for presentation to future art teachers. They stated:

> Good contemporary programs of art education seem to be founded on a set of widely shared beliefs...the ones discussed below form a theoretical framework within which art teachers work. There is certainly no dearth of information regarding either the convictions or the objectives of art educators. They are stated in position papers, keynote addresses, committee reports, and the writings of professionals who have devoted their lives to the subject...The principal beliefs in the current consensus would appear to be as follows (4):

1. There is creative ability in all children. Art education can help develop the child's "ability to produce something that for them is new, superior, or unique when compared with previous performances" (Ibid.).

2. There are skills that the child must acquire which are important for expressive acts. These skills are of value in carrying ideas through to satisfactory conclusions.

3. "(L)earners must enjoy freedom of thought and feeling when they are engaged in artistic pursuits...When (children) can follow a route from self-motivation through completion of a project, we may assume that a state of freedom has been attained through personal discipline (6).

4. (A)ny artistic effort worthy of the name expresses the thoughts and feelings, which of course reflect the experiences of its author" (7).

5. Art education develops taste. The child's critical sense should be developed to include an ability to discriminate good design from bad.

6. Art education develops citizenship. Students need to be both producers and consumers of art forms. Art education encourages sensitivity to the visual environment. Worthy and enlightened citizens can turn art into a social force that shapes the patterns of living.

7. The study of art develops visual perception. Children are prepared "for perceptual maturity by engaging them in problems that are found in visual learning situations..." (10). Students should be able to use their eyes as an aid to memory in understanding the world.

8. Art education develops appreciation. The child should be informed about his/her cultural heritage as revealed in art history and cognizant of the affective qualities of art described by the art critic in critical perception.

Moving in an historical direction for seeing how this phenomena appears, in 1925 Thomas Munro noted these ideas as being fundamental to the aims of art education.

> 1. Aesthetic growth requires freedom for individual thought and feeling. The chief aim of art education should be the development of the individuals own aesthetic powers with emphasis on clear, spontaneous feeling and ability to organize experience creatively...
>
> 2. The student should be made familiar not only with old and accepted forms of art, but with present-day experimentation, and encouraged to use his judgment in selecting the good from the bad in the activity and products of his own time.
>
> 3. (I)n the case of gifted and unusual pupils, the potential leaders of art...(t)hey should be given exceptional attention, resources, and freedom from interference. Such...treatment is consistent with the ideal of democracy, since it is based upon ability and original nature rather than on birth or wealth.

4. Aesthetic growth is furthered by genuinely rational control and analysis. Artistic power... is increased by intelligent analysis and reflection properly directed...art and the standards of taste should not be treated as matters of pure impulse and emotion, but discussed and analyzed to a considerable degree, that problems may be intelligently dealt with and the reasons for preference...brought to conscious recognition.

5. Artistic and other activities should be mutually correlated...If any field is studied in itself it tends to become formalized and artificial and to lose the interest arising from a perception of wide human relationships. Aesthetic education should not be considered as a special subject... distinct from others...Instruction in the particular arts...should...reveal the elements of beauty in other subjects which the student is studying at the time, and in his outside activities, games and home life...

6. All creation in art, as in science, and all understanding and appreciation, require the ability to select from a mass of material what is essential to a particular interest, then to reorganize it in a more effective form...Thus, continued study of the arts should disclose the several types of value and interest peculiar to each, the limitations and potentialities peculiar to each medium; the confusion and weakness that results from trying to do with a given medium something for which it is unfitted.

7. Courses in the history of art are of great value for both appreciation and creation if rightly conducted...they should aim to trace the history of forms and traditions in art, their origin, development, interaction, combination, differentiation, decadence, revival and modification, as shown in concrete works of art.

8. Art instruction should give wide scope to the unsystematic gropings, experiments and inconsistencies of unanalyzed impulse and emotion. Students should be allowed to experiment with color, line and light, and with easy or difficult media in an order they choose. Growth, in aesthetic and other functions, implies the constant taking in of new material, the exercise of newly developed powers. Aesthetic education should...provide for the constant and continuous widening of horizons with constant partial organization of experience acquired (1925:218-231).

Eighty years before Gaitskell and Hurwitz's objectivations, Walter Goodnough, the Director of Drawing in Brooklyn, New York listed ten aims of the profession.

> First——Art education, as a factor in general education, should develop the emotional, the ideal, and the moral nature of the child...
>
> Second——Art education should develop a love and discriminative appreciation of the beautiful in nature, art, industry, literature, dress, home surroundings, and in human thought and action...Aesthetic culture owes its importance to the fact that it not only makes a higher, more valuable productive power, thus becoming a larger factor in the industrial success of the individual, but it results in a culture, a refinement, an enjoyment and happiness, a higher civilization.
>
> Third——Art education should bring the pupil into a closer knowledge and appreciation of his environment, and relate his school training directly to many productive occupations.
>
> Fourth——It should lead him to a knowledge and appreciation of some of the great achievements in human thought, as exemplified in historical examples of ornament, architecture, sculpture, and painting.
>
> Fifth——It should give great and varied training to the perceptive power, perhaps to a wider and deeper extent than any other school study...
>
> Sixth——Art education should give systematic training of the imagination, that faculty so dominant in the young child, but, to a considerable extent, neglected in our school work, and without which their can be no great human achievement.
>
> Seventh——It should be a constant stimulus to thought, and train, not only concentration and power of thought but to breadth of view...
>
> Eighth——It cultivates the highest, noblest, and most varied modes of expression, and is a most valuable aid and complement to oral or written expression.
>
> Ninth——Art education should develop manual skill, executive ability, and critical power. It should train the judgment.
>
> Tenth——Art education is an all-important element in developing and training the creative faculty (1895:856-7).

A cross-cultural approach to the phenomenon of ideology provides another context for looking at the appearance of the beliefs stated by Gaitskell and Hurwitz. The meanings that Eskimo's use for describing what we call art are a different sort than those used by art educators.

The Eskimo language does not make a distinction between nouns and verbs. Words serve to bring being into existence; they release ideas from a state of having no form. There are no words in Eskimo for create or make, only a term which means to work in. Neither are there words for art or aesthetics. Carvings are called toys, imitations of things or things made out of lamp material and any natural or man-made phenomenon may be described as good to look at.

The Eskimo carver does not express his/her own original thoughts in the carving but rather helps the image hiding in the chaos of the universe make itself known. A carving is the Universe speaking. Carvings are not valued as objects which capture time. The carver may ignore space and fashion an object meant to be held in the hand in many ways as opposed to presenting its best side. Because the world is seen as a place where things are coming to be, each carved object has its own being and is neither better or worse than any other. What counts is "how well it is made rather than how pleasant it is; or in other words, the success of the artist in having worked the stone well, in having reacted sensitively and intelligently to the material from which the carving is made, and in capturing the imitation, the likeness it was intended to be" (Swinton 1972:130). For the Eskimo, being cannot be known before it appears, therefore each persons subjective encounter with being is as valid as one's own and to be respected.

The reflected structure in these accounts reveal a number of interesting points. In the historical approach, it can be observed that the reality symbolized by these beliefs has been essentially the same for at least eighty years. In all three accounts a concern is exhibited for developing the individual's capacity to produce the new, unique and superior which is equated with being creative or imaginative. All accounts further describe the individual in terms of the growth and development of various skills and capacities, that is, as the individual unfolds or evolves, it is necessary to bring out his/her possibilities in prescribed directions. The child must have expressive skills, be self-motivated, complete projects to an end,

express only his/her own experiences or use his/her own aesthetic powers, and be able to discriminate good design from poor design. There is an emphasis on self-reliance, solving one's own problems effectively, and surpassing one's past efforts inorder to achieve some ultimate higher standard. The child is exposed to the cultural heritage of the arts in an exemplary manner designed to acquaint him/her with past and present civilized attainments in the visual arts so that s/he will be familiar with those images thought to be of good quality. Critical skills help the individual to make his/her own judgments about what it is that needs improvement based on standards and criteria assumed to have validity for all members of society. The over-all aim typical to these accounts appears to be to shape citizens who are achievement oriented, who produce and consume excellence and who contribute to the progress of civilization.

In the cross-cultural approach, the Eskimo version of art is in contrast to the American. The Eskimo is not concerned with creating the new, but releasing what is present in the formlessness of the Universe. Achieving freedom by internalizing specific ways of organizing experience is a strange concept to persons who do not structure being before it is known. Skill in craftsmanship would possibly be understood by both the American and the Eskimo as necessary to the forming of objects, but each would find it so for different reasons. Other points that the Americans consider important in their view of art such as taste, consumption, citizenship, perception, and the merits of the best of civilization are incompatible to a world-view which has the individual attuned to a relationship with what the Universe is saying. Time and space are not linear to the Eskimo, but chaotic, therefore all that has been formed is equal in merit to him/her.

A reflexive analysis of these constitutive elements discloses several issues for assessment. The most important one, which will be dealt with here, is the apparent distortion of the art experience. While art does encompass actions known to be creative, skillful, affective, emotive, symbolic, expressive, sensitive, perceptive, and critical, I would argue that art is a mode of giving meaning to one's experience; the realization of an intentional act. The value of art is in its signifying power. This is more clearly seen in the Eskimo's approach to carving than in the professional ideology of art educators. The emphasis that they place on the individual's

ability to master prescribed skills and to achieve a higher level of performance portrays art almost entirely as a technological activity. While perhaps more congruent with the aspirations of our society, such an approach falsifies the art experience. Little, if any, attention is directed towards comprehending the signitive dimension of art. Consequently, the constitutive categories of the professional ideology mystify the human construction of art as a visual symbolic universe by presenting art in an objective manner. In other words, art is denied reality as a world-constituting experience and viewed from the narrow perspective of recipe knowledge.

This one dimensional view of the art experience is of consequence in the socialization of prospective art teachers. Encountered in textbooks and methods courses, these professionally legitimated beliefs pre-constitute the classroom reality. Before the student teacher faces his/her first students, s/he is provided with typifications about helping the child create something that is unique, developing the child's expressive skills, checking the child's personal discipline, etc. These typifications are linked to the role of art teacher and the prospective teacher's identity for s/he must internalize them well enough to be recognized by others as being a potentially "good" teacher. Once these ways of defining the reality of the art teacher are internalized, they become the framework for the reality that is presented to children in the classroom. Children are thus socialized to the taken-for-granted assumptions and typical experiences regarding art that are maintained as real by their teachers. For example, they will most likely learn that art is making new things; that one must carry out one's ideas to an approved end; that one's work should show improvement and that art can be evaluated as being good or bad. Insofar as these beliefs are transmitted in a taken-for-granted state, they restrict the dialectical relationship between the individual and society. In this situation, both student teachers and children are dependent upon the art educators power to define the structure of the art experience in the classroom in a technological manner. Unless they are encouraged to examine the nature of that experience for themselves, student teachers and children will continue to acquire an interpretation of art that is distortive.

Reaching into the future from the perspective of ideology presented here, it would seem that art educators need to reassess the nature of the meanings sustained in their beliefs and in the content of teacher training courses.

Methods courses could possibly become a time when the sociology of art education knowledge is explored rather than taken-for-granted.

Implications for Art Education

The sociology of knowledge and phenomenological sociology provide avenues for disclosing and examining the symbolic and signitive dimensions of human experience. Their relevance to research in art education goes far beyond the example given on ideology for the everyday world of the art educator is replete with sociological phenomena.

In the recent literature of art education some concern has been in evidence about the phenomenon of "school art" and the falsification of reality in the images of the media. I submit that the sociology of knowledge is a suitable theoretical orientation for examining these phenomena. Further, if the social processes of constituting visual reality and symbolic universes were made one of the prime considerations in the curriculum for art teachers, the fact that there is a relationship between art education and society could at least be explored. Study of the sociology of images and the politics of visual reality would contribute to the demystification of culture for the individual and make him/her less vulnerable to reified definitions of reality. Perhaps the phenomenon of "school art" might disappear if teachers realized that the classroom reality of art is a part of a typified view of school reality. Studies of childrens' drawings or childart are, likewise, related to the sociology of knowledge in that the imagery of the child, while subjective in nature, has a sociological dimension which cannot be ignored if these phenomena are to be properly understood as human products.

Other dimensions for research in art education might be to study the socialization of student teachers; the symbolic interaction between teachers and students during an art lesson as they communicate; the frameworks that students use for interpreting the art experience; and the cultural messages being communicated in art curriculum materials. Additional areas of inquiry most likely will appear as the potentialities of the sociology of knowledge and phenomenological sociology are realized by art educators willing to embark upon a scholarly journey through the objectivated works written by phenomenological sociologists.

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An Inquiry Into The Process of Aesthetic Socialization During School Tours At An Art Museum

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The theory of socialization developed by Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1966) provides the framework for the problem in this study: How is aesthetic knowledge in the visual arts constituted? Aesthetic events occur within the biography of every individual, but it is from the interaction of individuals with one another that these events acquire significance through the medium of language. To know that something is art or has aesthetic qualities or that one is to interpret "somethings" in specified ways is to be a participant in social knowledge. One might have such knowledge by one's self, but to know these things as others do is to have knowledge that is social fact. In the social interchange between persons who already carry this knowledge and those who do not, what takes place to create the facticity of this knowledge?

Problem

The purpose of this study was to examine social interaction within an art museum as a process of constituting aesthetic knowledge for and with children. Through the co-operative efforts of school and museum personnel, and as part of their formal education, many children are brought to the art museum to "look at artworks." While in the museum they interact with docents who share with them some of the social meanings about art that are understood by persons who inhabit the artworld. It is the process of socializing children to these meanings that was described and examined in this study. The perspective taken throughout was based upon the sociology of knowledge which has roots in the phenomenology of Edmund Husserl, the phenomenological sociology of Alfred Schutz and the symbolic interactionism developed from George Herbert Mead.

Background and Rationale

In sociology, the phenomenological and symbolic interactionist position towards knowledge is that it is constitutive. According to Husserl (1970, 1975; Stewart and Mickunas, 1974), human beings encounter the world with meanings and interpretations, that is, they have an intentional consciousness. A person's life experience or knowledge is thus interpretive and transcending, going beyond what was previously known. This personal stock of knowledge, as Schutz (1970) called it, is built up or constituted through human activity in the world. Acting in the world, individuals shape their consciousness, create themselves and form a symbolic world in which their actions "make sense." Whereas animals occupy a fixed world that structures and limits their actions, human beings are open to the world and can create their own structures for experiencing it.

Human beings also interact with one another and share experiences intersubjectively (Husserl, 1970:254; Schutz:98-100). Through an objective signifying system such as language, it becomes possible to both communicate an individual's subjective experience or interpretations and replace that experience with ready-made or pre-constituted meanings.

Built up or constituted through the actions of predecessors and contemporaries, language is a repository of social meanings. This knowledge provides an ordering of the world's experience that serves as a model for everyone's subjective interpretations (Schutz and Luckmann, 1973). Hence, the life-world of human beings is organized with both subjectively and socially (objectively) derived interpretations of experience that allow one to anticipate, on the basis of past activities, what typically may happen in the future.

As individuals acquire linguistic competence, their knowledge becomes greatly socialized. Persons come to share some of the same typifications or knowledge about types of objects, persons, and events as everyone else occupying the social world. Two important features of the social stock of knowledge are anonymity and taken-for-grantedness. For example, one may know how to paint a picture, but not know how painting came to be a part of the social world nor who was responsible for the idea. Over a period of time, the human circumstances by which a typification came to be a cultural feature becomes lost to experience. Embedded in the social stock of knowledge, a typification becomes reified or appears as objective fact. The social world is a complex symbolic universe and a tribute to the creativeness of human beings. A brief cataloging of the contents of the social world would include: institutions, roles, rules, "recipe knowledge" for engaging in certain activities, legitimations or explanations of events and rules, professional knowledge, and provinces of meaning concerning specialized knowledge of various kinds (Berger and Luckmann, 1966).

The humanly constructed world, due to its "artificial" nature must be continuously explained anew to the young. Through social interaction the social world is "realized" to children and becomes part of their consciousness (Berger and Luckmann, 1966:119-168; Rafky, 1971). In our society, a major institution for socializing children to the symbolic components of the social world is the school. There, certified personnel transmit particular elements of the social stock of knowledge to children and evaluate their ability to internalize these elements (Bowers, 1974; Esland, 1971). Another institution that socializes children (and also adults) is the art museum (Curriculum Development Center, 1968:1; Lee, 1975; Johnson, Note:29-48). During school tours, docents explain particular elements of the specialized knowledge of the artworld to children. A part of that knowledge is aesthetic knowledge. It is appropriate, therefore, to inquire into what Feldman (1960) called the "social genesis" of aesthetic perception and feeling in the setting of the school tour.

Procedure

The focus of phenomenological sociology is upon the clarification of the social processes of building up or constituting the symbolic dimensions of human experience (Filmer, Phillipson, Silverman and Walsh, 1972). A methodology for studying this process would emphasize the subjective interpretations of participants in a selected setting. As indicated by Husserl (1970), phenomenology is a reflective and critical method, therefore the researcher would record the participants' interpretations of reality, suspend the taken-for-grantedness of these interpretations and describe what meanings are constituted therein, and

then, critique them. This approach was considered by Husserl to be scientific in that it dealt with all phenomena appearing to consciousness in a systematic way. The reduction of human experience to only the measurement of overt behaviors to ascertain a "true" accounting of reality denied human beings the opportunity to reflect upon the configuration of the life-world built up in consciousness and thus transcend or change it.

According to sociologist, George Psathas, in phenomenology "(t)here is no formula or recipe for procedures which is to be applied ready-made to the problem being studied" (1973:16). The approach taken in this study was an ethnographic one. Becoming a participant-as-observer in an art museum, the researcher tagged along on school tours and tape-recorded the verbal interchanges between docents and children. The tours took place during a three month period. In order to gain a wide perspective on the kinds of knowledge and interaction occuring during the school tour, an attempt was made to attend tours of varying grade levels and with a variety of docents.

The sixteen school tours in this study ranged from one-half hour to one and a half hours in length and were customarily taken in the morning. The grade levels represented included Kindergarten through grade twelve with the exception of eighth grade. The tapes of the tours were transcribed and then edited into a series of excerpts from the school tours. This account was the phenomenon examined in the study. Interpretations about art and the ways they were built up through the interaction of the participants were identified. Aesthetic knowledge offered by the docents was then analyzed for taken-for-granted assumptions.

Findings

From the combined perspectives of the researcher's own stock of knowledge and that found in the museum literature, aesthetic knowledge is defined in this study as those typifications which indicate that an art object has value because one experiences pleasure, delight, enjoyment or beauty when looking at it. The constitution of this knowledge in the setting of the school tour occurred through metaphors and analogies. They were offered and encouraged by the docents. To illustrate, during one tour, a kaga or Japanese carrying chair was described as elegant.

S: Is this for the empress?
D: This is for a lady who would be more like the wife of a governor; that type. And ah....
S: Just rich ladies.
D: That's right. Exactly, and it's interesting, when you look at it-ah-in a few minutes or-ah-even if you've looked at it, look at it in terms of a car that's so decorated and so elegant that the people constantly want to have in view things like beautiful flowers, beautiful scenes to keep their mind-minds occupied by things that they think of as really elegant and the outside, of course, is for other people to see and the -ah-symbol of the family, the dragonfly, is all over it and everybody who's gone past knew that it was for

the Ohara family because of the kind of dragonfly it was. But look up on top, for example, you see the lid that's lifted up has this beautiful drawing, ah-well, filled in with ah-(unclear).

S: Are those lights behind the panel?

D: There's a light up on top so that you can see it, but those-ah-paintings in there are done on gold leaf....

But, ah, if you look at that you see that when that was down the lady who was inside was just surrounded by absolute beauty and the Japanese grew up from the time they were children looking at things so they could see the beauty in them.

In other tours, the children were told that the objects on view were nice, likeable, pretty, marvelous, beautiful, treasures, magnificent, special, can be "loved," and have nice patterns or lovely textures. On occasion, the children contributed some "Ooh's" and "Neat's" to the social reality of the tour. With assertions, comparisons and examples, the docents and the children mutually built and bridged typifications and legitimations into a zone of knowledge concerning artworks found in museums. Three styles of interaction with the docents were identified: the monologue/lecture, the inquiry/questioning strategy and imagining/role-playing. The subtleties and combinations of these methods for making knowledge plausible during the tour were infinite and reflected the personal choices of each docent within the context of gallery talks.

Integrated with the typification that many of the objects attended to during the tour are to be experienced or interpreted in an aesthetic way were several others. The docents indicated that artworks of high value most often belonged to the wealthy and privileged; one was to have feelings about artworks and be affected by them; artworks were to be looked at and enjoyed; aesthetic value was personally determined; there were many social conceptions (or constructions) of beauty; the Japanese seemed to be very concerned about the aesthetic; and the art museum was the type of place where objects of artistic and/or aesthetic value are donated by people and displayed for everyone to look at. In the judgment of the researcher, some of these legitimations of the aesthetic are taken-for-granted assumptions that need re-assessment.

Of especial concern is the typification that costly and rare objects which belonged to wealthy or privileged persons are to be considered as having aesthetic value and that these objects tend to be the art found in museums. While there is historical validity to the practice of supporting artists and their work by the wealthy and privileged, this notion is essentially a limiting one. It suggests that unless one is wealthy or privileged, the material culture or the built environment existing outside of the museum and the abodes of the elite is neither artistic nor of high aesthetic value. If the art museum is an institution whose purpose is to educate the public on matters of art, then objects of aesthetic value to ordinary and lesser persons are equally important to this aim.

Another assumption involves the possibly mythical nineteenth century idea that artworks have an inherent power to evoke feelings. It is conceivable that persons living in other times, other cultures or the present, have not experienced artworks in this way.

In the excerpts, several docents suggested that there are no commonly accepted standards for determining aesthetic value, yet they proceeded to point out which objects were nice, pretty or enjoyable. This seeming paradox needs clarification in light of a sociology of knowledge perspective.

Some of the children were also socialized to the typification that the Japanese are very concerned about aesthetic values. This assumption can easily falsify the children's ideas about Japanese people. All persons in Japan do not contemplate beauty and unless the children have been to Japan or know Japanese persons they are unable to confirm or disconfirm the docents' statements.

Aesthetic socialization, as studied in the context of these tours, appeared to be a process where most of the aesthetic knowledge being transmitted remained at a taken-for-granted level. In other words, why these objects are beautiful, should be enjoyed by everyone, given to museums by persons who can afford them or how these things have come about appear as "natural" facts. These typifications, legitimations and their assumptions are not decoded during the school tour.

Contrary to the researcher's expectations (encouraged by reading a lot of museum literature), aesthetic knowledge occupied only a small part of the knowledge being transmitted by the docents. As formulated by the researcher, the other knowledge appearing in the excerpts was relevant from a cultural, symbolic, historical or technical perspective. Most of the knowledge transmitted was cultural and was evidenced in directives about museum conduct in our society, explanations about Buddhist religious practices and some aspects of the life-world in Japan. Aesthetic, symbolic, historical and technical knowledge followed in that order. Symbolic knowledge dealt with signification, that is, some objects are "signs" that indicate specialized meanings such as the flames and lotus characterizing Shiva or the hand positions and topknots seen in statues of Buddha. Historical knowledge explicated the origins of an object and technical knowledge revealed how an object was fabricated.

Conclusions

Bringing artworks to people and people to artworks has been an important objective of art museums. As part of the educational program designed to achieve this end, school tours present children with social meanings about art that are considered to be worth knowing. Throughout the tours, there were re-occuring themes, typifications, and legitimations which indicated that there was indeed a pre-constituted stock of knowledge mediated to the children by the docents. While these recipes for encountering artworks might not be believed or adopted as explained, they do become the co-ordinates of experience for interpreting the reality of art museums and, most important of all, building the child's conceptions of art.

Whereas the researcher's initial inquiry into the socialization processes of the school tour was concerned with the constitution of aesthetic knowledge, it was evident that this knowledge was embedded in a manifold of typifications. This relationship has importance in the socialization process for it makes possible a comparison of typifications through analogy and metaphor. Much of the interaction between the docent and the

children can be characterized as a negotiation of meaning in order to find appropriate analogies and metaphors which would fit new typifications into established ones.

A crucial concern in the museum context is that the children and their teachers are vulnerable (Bowers, 1974) to the docents interpretations about art and aesthetic knowledge. Docents need to become aware of the many assumptions embedded in the knowledge they transmit during school tours and help children and teachers not only to decode the "mysteries" of art, but to help them question both social and their own beliefs about art. Considering the present problems in maintaining the visual arts as a viable area of study in the schools, it would seem that art educators in the schools and the museums would be concerned about the kinds of typifications and legitimations being presented in the socialization process.

Finally, the theoretical perspective of the sociology of knowledge developed by Schutz, Berger and Luckmann was found to be a useful framework for illuminating the phenomenon of socialization examined in this study. This theory would also appear to have some explanatory power for socialization in the artroom and the education of art teachers.

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